



Reactualization of Marhaenism Principles to Promote Marginal Community's Social Welfare

Febri Fajar Pratama*, Ai Kusmiati Asyiah, Deni Chandra

Universitas Perjuangan Tasikmalaya, Tasikmalaya, Indonesia

Correspondence: E-mail: febripratama@unper.ac.id

ABSTRACT

Marhaenism is the principle of struggle for the Indonesian people driven by Sukarno in the early days of the national movement against imperialism of foreign nations. The marhaen, hereinafter became a term for those who are oppressed, destitute, and do not have the opportunity to prosper themselves. Socio-democracy, socio-nationalism, mass action and non-cooperation characterize the marhaen movement. In the end, marhaenism succeeded in becoming the distinctive ideology developed by Sukarno and inspired him in designing the basics of the formulation of Pancasila. However, after independence, problems related to poverty and the welfare of the community, especially the marginalized (marginalized) are still not over, so there is a need for a political strategy that leads to policy optimization by prioritizing the interests of the little people. So, the reactualization of the principle of marhaenism becomes relevant to be reviewed and echoed again. The purpose of this study is to provide an analytical (descriptive analytical) description of the reactualization of the principle of marhaenism using a qualitative approach.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Marginal society, or sometimes referred as marginalized community, is a group of fragile people whose economic level is low and whose most of the people are on poverty. The existence of social inequality, minimum opportunities, and development equality is the basic characters of such a society. According to Derana, marginalization can be regarded as a concept that involves the phenomenon of social exclusion which is influenced by imbalances in human quality development programs and opportunities to obtain proper education. In addition, marginalization also occurs because of the inability of the community to meet their needs in various aspects, so that they are ultimately seen as negative excesses of the progress of a country (Derana, 2016). Based on data from Indonesia Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), the number of poor people as of March 2020 was 9.78% or 26.42 million people, an increase of 0.56% from the previous year which amounted to 24.79 million people. Meanwhile, the number of poor people in urban areas as of March 2020 increased by 7.38% or 11.16 million people. The number of poor people in rural areas also increased by 12.82% or 333.9 thousand people to 15.26 million people compared to 2019 (Raihan and Kamilah, 2021). Although the number of poor people seems to be increasing, the trend over the last 15 years shows that the number of poor people has decreased although it is still fluctuating. This is of course influenced by various factors such as the result of an increase in fuel oil, economic and political stability, then coupled with the sudden emergence of a global pandemic that has sent a number of countries into recession, including Indonesia. This can be seen from the significant percentage increase in the number of poor people in 2020 compared to 2019.

Not only is the number of poor people who are still relatively high, but the distribution of education and the unemployment rate is also a problem for the government to be able to find welfare solutions for the marginalized. In 2018/2019 alone, the total number of students dropping out of school at each level (SD, SMP, SMA/ SMK) was 103,139 thousand people with the highest percentage of dropouts at the elementary school level as many as 33,268 thousand people. In the meantime, the number of open unemployment (age of labor force) in 2020 based on data from BPS, it was recorded at 6.88 million and underemployed at 8.34 million. The percentage of the working population according to the highest education, high school and vocational high school graduates dominate as many as 30.15 million, then primary school graduates as many as 24.91 million people, not attending school and not completing elementary school as many as 13.98 million. This number is very unequal compared to diploma and undergraduate graduates which are only 13.03 million.

Referring to the data described above, it can be concluded that the issues of poverty, the need for employment, education, unemployment and school dropouts are factors causing marginalization still show a relatively high percentage, not to mention when coupled with other social issues such as access to health, adequate housing, income, and cases of malnutrition which continue to be the main problems of the government in an effort to realize the social welfare of the community. Therefore, a political strategy that can influence the making of policies and decisions that have a strategic impact on marginalized communities is needed. This political strategy is considered important because it concerns the power relationship between the government and its people in an ecosystem of political society. These conditions create normative rules that affect people's lives (Seta, 2020). Social welfare in the political context can be interpreted as general welfare that must be guaranteed or managed by the state. As stated by Ariani (Ariani, 2014) that the state aims to provide general welfare for the community so that they can live well and fairly. The general welfare is defined as "the sum of all the social conditions that enable or facilitate human beings to develop all of their values", or can be defined as "the sum of all the conditions of social life necessary for

each individual, family, and community group to achieve unity. or their development more fully and rapidly.”

Ariani also explains if general welfare is a subjective condition, that is, it comes from the community itself (Ariani, 2014). Based on this, Suseno divides general welfare into two categories, namely negativity: humans can be said to be prosperous if they are free from feelings of hunger, poverty, anxiety about tomorrow, free from feelings of fear, oppression, and when they are treated unfairly. Whereas, positivity is as if he feels safe, secure, safe, lives according to his own ideals and values, is free to realize his individual and social life in accordance with the aspirations and possibilities available to him. Welfare is essentially something that can only be felt in each individual, it cannot be determined or enforced dogmatically or ideologically. Even so, according to Suseno, the state can play a role in creating general welfare through objective prerequisites such as providing infrastructure for the community which cannot be guaranteed by the community itself. Like prosperity that is realized through hard work, but hard work will not be useful if it is not supported by economic (but not exploitative) structures so that anyone who works hard can produce sufficiency for both personal and family.

These things can actually be found from the principle of marhaenism developed by Sukarno as the ideology of the nation's struggle. The main idea of marhaenism is to free the marhaen from the shackles of colonialism, injustice, hegemony of the bourgeoisie, and the system of monopolistic capitalism that creates social inequality. Sukarno used the term marhaen as a symbol of the weak, miserable and oppressed. With Sukarno's background and thoughts, which were heavily influenced by national political figures, both left and right, such as Tjokroaminoto, Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Agus Salim, Alimin, Musso, Douwes Dekker, and C. Hartogh, Sukarno led Sukarno to the conception of unity and nationalism. as the mainstream of the struggle (Hasanah and Budiarto, 2020). The idea of the underprivileged became a characteristic of Sukarno's political thought which was extracted from the nature of Indonesian society, giving rise to the class structure of society that Sukarno recognized as marhaen. Marhaen's style is very different from Karl Marx's concept of the proletariat, marhaen does not consist of only one group, but various groups such as farmers, small entrepreneurs, small workers, small fishermen who all live in limitations. Marhaenism is an ideology that practically includes every Indonesian who has the will to change his life, so that he does not act on the interests of only one group, but the interests of the entire Indonesian people.

Socio-democracy and socio- nationalism as one of the characteristics of the marhaenism movement can be used as a reference in forming a political movement oriented towards the welfare of marginalized communities. Sukarno (Hasanah and Budiarto, 2020). stated that socio- democracy aims to improve the fate of the people, which means eliminating poverty. Sukarno was also of the view that socio-democracy in it includes political and economic democracy to create one's own strength. Meanwhile, socio-nationalism is the nationalism of society that arises because of the things they really feel (Krisdianto, et al. 2020). Therefore, socio- nationalism aims to improve conditions in the community so that it is no longer lame and free from oppression and misery. Furthermore, Sukarno referred to socio-nationalism as marhaen nationalism which did not have the greedy nature of the imperialists (Hasanah and Budiarto, 2020). As revealed in research conducted by Irwansyah (Irwansyah, 2017) that the principle of marhaenism can form a just and prosperous social order. The application in the political field is explained if the concepts of socio-nationalism, socio- democracy and divinity trigger the state's political system in favor of the marhaen. It is very different from the democratic system adopted by western countries with its liberalism so that it triggers a

capitalist political and economic system. This is of course contrary to marhaenism which is based on a sense of justice and equality in all fields while still upholding divine values. Application in the social field, namely rejecting the existence of a system of capitalism and feudalism which restricts the freedom of the people in the political and economic fields. Then the application in the economic field is the existence of a people's economic system that prioritizes people's sovereignty in the economic field with the aim of people's welfare and prosperity.

At the opening of the 2015 GMNI congress (Arroisi, 2017), President Joko Widodo once reminded that, "Marhaenism is a fighter who builds people to be strong, happy, peaceful, just and prosperous." In his speech, he also said that marhaenism is a reminder for leaders not to abandon the people, domestic workers, farm workers, washers, and people on the border. Leaders must not be distant from the people. Soelistyo (Soelistyo, 2019) explained that currently the ideology of marhaenism is increasingly marginalized as a result of people's views that attribute marhaenism to communism. In fact, if traced from the history and thoughts of Sukarno, the root of marhaenism is socialism that sided with social justice. According to him, socialism is part of the Pancasila way of thinking which is based on the people's struggle to be free from injustice and inequality. Yudi Latif also explained that Pancasila not only needed to be linked with religiosity so that it became a religious nationalist, but also with sociality.

Considering what has been discussed above, the author is interested in studying and providing ideas about the principle of marhaenism that needs to be re-actualized following the developments of the times and current political dynamics to realize the welfare of society, especially marginal or marginalized communities. Bearing in mind that marhaenism is a pure ideology developed by Bung Karno himself through the synthesis of various ideologies that have developed in the world by combining Indonesian values which are fused in the conceptions of unity, justice and divinity.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Marginalization and Social Inequality

Society is an important factor in a state political system as society and the state are one unit as a political organization. However, in this relationship there is a society that governs and is ruled. The people who govern are associated with the government, while those who are governed are associated with the people. Peters in Kusmanto (Kusmanto, 2014), suggests the term "state" as a politically organized society. When viewed from the point of view of citizenship science, this principle will lead us to the concept of the relationship between citizens and the state (the government). The government in this case has political power through government officials and formal institutions formed by the state based on existing laws and laws. Laws and laws are inherent to create social order and control.

These rules; however, must be avoided from arbitrariness. As stated by Kusmanto (Kusmanto, 2014) "the power and sovereignty of each is built on an understanding of the importance of regulation. However, the arrangement was not arbitrary. The law does not only regulate citizens but also regulates the government in carrying out its authority as regulated by laws and regulations. The link between people's trust and the power of the government must be carried out in a balanced and proportional manner so that the value of justice can be felt by the people as the main need. That way, the government will gain the confidence to take various actions and policies in accordance with the applicable laws and constitutions in order to improve the welfare of the community in various aspects of life.

In a practical context, it is not easy to embody such rules in the social life of the wider community, because sociologically, society is formed in an order of social and political stratification that creates social inequality or inequality. According to Mutaqqin (Muttakin, 2014) social stratification is formed through a social process in which there are social layers and social processes that are connected to the practice of power. When power is exercised unequally, it will create two groups, namely the dominant-power group and the marginal-powerless group. In the hierarchy of social layers, this marginal group becomes the lowest subordinate group. The dominant group will eventually push the lower subordinate groups out of their social circle to then be "exploited" as part of the object of power. This process is known as marginalization. Dominant groups who have privileges in the fields of economy, politics, social strata, and education use their power to encourage a hierarchy of weak and powerless groups, so that this dominant group has a political claim to develop power relations.

When referring to the theory of social dominance (social dominance orientation), this condition is viewed by Pratto et al. (Pratto, et al. 1994) as a legitimacy to inequality. Through the theory of social dominance, it can be seen how an individual or group views a social hierarchy, whether they want equality or there are hierarchical differences in the superior-inferior dimensions. A person or group with high social dominance will tend to choose an ideology or policy that increases the hierarchy, while low dominance will tend to choose an ideology or policy that reduces the hierarchy. In other words, groups with high dominance will become members of institutions and choose roles that maintain or increase social inequality, while those with lower dominance will become members of institutions and choose roles that reduce inequality. This is in line with what was expressed by Arifianto (Arifianto, 2017) that groups with high dominance have a very large motivation to maintain their dominance over other groups. According to him, through the identification of social dominance orientations, we can predict what policies leaders or policy makers will take, whether they support group hierarchies that tend to be discriminatory or in favor of groups with low dominance orientation.

Weber (Maunah, 2015), divides social stratification into three categories, namely "class, stande, and parties". These three things appear in the hierarchy of economic, social and political power inherent in the lives of ancient and modern societies. Class (class) is an individual's position in an economic system, commodity or market. When an individual does not have access to equal material resources, there will be a dominant position and a non-dominant position. For those who have access to social resources, he will be in the dominant position of the individual who is in need of these resources. In simple terms, it can be exemplified by the relationship between employers and those who work, owners of production and workers, or owners of goods who control the market with buyers/people in need. This is what Weber calls a social organization that emerges from the "house of marketplace". Stande (status), namely a person's position in the hierarchy of social stratification. If someone is at a higher social level, then he has the potential to dominate power over those below him based on prestige indicators (positive or negative) which are distributed based on how that person knows one another. Weber called this phenomenon the "house of honor" or place of honor. Then the last one is parties or "house of power" namely political power. This occurs when there are interests between class and status groups that come together to seek power over the legitimate use of force.

Then formed a forum to channel these interests through political parties. By joining a political party, one can have the potential to be in power or the power to influence the decision-making process or policy through certain mechanisms and legitimacy. Why is power

important? According to Weber, "power is about using the levers of hope and coercion to discipline a society via government". Power is about using the levers of hope as well as coercion to discipline society through government.

Based on Weber's opinion regarding the social stratification, it can be concluded that marginalization lies in how a person's social position within the scope of social class, status and interest groups is realized through political organizations (read: parties). Thus, groups that do not have access to domination in these three things will automatically be vulnerable to discrimination which then triggers social inequality. According to Prasodjo (Prasodjo, 2017) the gap is a very big vulnerability. This gap occurs as a result of economic inequality, poverty and social problems. Especially in Indonesia itself, the social structure is very layered and stratified, even according to Syawie, the social conditions of the Indonesian people tend to be dichotomous and dualistic which causes ethnocentricity. This leads to ethnic sentiments where non- indigenous people are considered as the group that has the most power in the economic field, in contrast to the indigenous people. Not to mention the capitalist system that adds to the gap in Indonesian society today.

Marhaenism

Marhaenism is an ideology initiated by Sukarno in pre- independence Indonesia, when the Dutch were still colonizing Indonesia and made the Indonesian people marginalized at that time. According to Prawira and Maryati (Prawira and Maryati, 2019) Marhaenism is an ideology that aspires to the formation of a prosperous society equitably. Prosperous means that there is no barrier between the rich and the poor, no more oppression and colonialism, no more depending on others, but they can be independent. Therefore, the basic foundation of Sukarno's thinking about Marhaenism is socio-nationalism and socio-democracy. Hananto explained in Prawira and Maryati (Prawira and Maryati, 2019) that socio-nationalism is nationalism that is owned by the community. Socio-nationalism also rejects the existence of bourgeoisie which is the cause of the lame state of people's lives. Therefore, socio-nationalism aims to provide political and economic stability by solving problems related to political ideology and economic inequality. While socio- democracy is the freedom to determine life and views politically and economically. Based on this, it can be said that socio-nationalism is oriented towards humanity and socio-democracy emphasizes the social welfare of the community.

Bung Karno (Ahmad, 2016) himself translated Marhaenism into 9 theses, namely:

1. Marhaenism is socio-nationalism and socio-democracy;
2. Marhaens are the Indonesian proletariat, the poor Indonesian peasants, and other poor Indonesians;
3. Partindo uses the words of Marhaen, and not proletariat, because the words of the proletariat are already contained in the words of Marhaen, and because the words of the proletariat may be interpreted that the peasants and others, the poor are not contained in it;
4. Because Partindo believes that in the struggle, it is the other poor Indonesians who must be the elements (the parts) so Partindo uses Marhaen's words;
5. In Marhaen's struggle, Partindo believes that the proletariat takes a very large part;
6. Marhaenism is a principle that requires the structure of society and the structure of the country which in all cases saves Marhaen;
7. Marhaenism is also a way of struggle to achieve such a social and state structure, which therefore must be a revolutionary struggle;

8. So, Marhaenism is a way of struggle and a principle that calls for the disappearance of every capitalism and imperialism;
9. Marhaenis is every Indonesian people who practice Marhaenism.

Bung Karno brought Marhaenism to a practical level, it was the proletariat who were used as a banner to fight directly to get rid of capitalism and imperialism. Marhaen is not just a symbol, but a great movement of the peasants, workers, and the oppressed who put all their energy into creating a social revolution. This is what Karl Marx meant that workers acted as "Sociale noodwendigheid" and it was their ideological victory that would later become "Historische noodwendigheid" which is a must and a necessity in history. Bung Karno at that time realized that to be free from the colonial period that had occurred for centuries, even before Indonesia existed, a revolutionary struggle was needed. All people must rise up and fight to be free from colonialism. Therefore, the Indonesian people need what Bung Karno called a "tragic conviction" which has three characteristics, namely: Nationalistic, Islamistic and Marxistic.

Learning from the similarity of the fate of other colonized countries, Bung Karno (Ahmad, 2016) concluded that the three directions in question, namely nationalism, Islamism and Marxism, should be able to unite and not be hostile. Bung Karno believed that if the three directions could be united, it would create a great and powerful force. That then inspired Bung Karno to unite Islamic, nationalist and communist groups commonly known as "NASAKOM" (Nationalists, Religions, and Communists). Then a hypothesis emerged from Bung Karno, could these 3 powers really be unified? Can Islamism, which is a religion and not a nation, be able to cooperate with nationalism which is concerned with the nation with its materialism, Marxism with its material view? With high confidence, Bung Karno replied that nationalism can be united with religion, because religion is taught to protect its homeland, as well as Marxism, because basically, nationalism comes from the principle of wanting unity, and that marxism has the same direction of movement as nationalistic.

Broadly speaking, the concept of Sukarno's Marhaenism movement can be identified from 5 things, namely:

First, radical-revolutionary. Bung Karno (Fuady, 2020) explained the meaning of radical-revolutionary, namely rapid change. This rapid change arises as a result of the will of the times. Revolutionaries are against imperialism, whoever groups and groups are against imperialism, the sign is that they are revolutionaries, the Marhaen. Bung Karno also emphasized that revolutionaries do not have to be proletarians alone, they don't have to be people who stand on a formal democracy, they don't have to be socialists, but revolutionaries want an equal society, without capitalism.

Second, non-cooperation. Linguistically, non-cooperation means there is no cooperation. In the political context of Bung Karno's Marhaenism thought (Prawira and Maryati, 2019), non-cooperation requires radicalism in action, no compromise or cooperation. The radicalism in question is spirit radicalism, thought radicalism, action radicalism and radicalism in all physical and spiritual attitudes. This attitude is against apathy. This attitude became the basis of Sukarno's PNI philosophy. Non-cooperation, is a statement of attitude that true independence must be won.

Third, mass-action. In the book "Under the Revolutionary Flag" Bung Karno explained that the mass- actions were:

"...Aksinya massa. Massa artinja: Rakyat Marhaen jang bermilyun- milyun itu. Massa aksi adalah dus: aksinya rakjat Marhaen jang bermilyun-milyun itu. And oleh karena aksi berarti perbuatan, pergerakan, perjuangan, maka massa-aksi adalah dus berarti:

perbuatannya, pergerakannya, perjuangannya rakyat Marhaen yang bermilyun-milyun itu."

Based on this understanding, it can be concluded that mass-action is a quantity of action originating from groups, groups that act and move to carry out struggles. Bung Karno also emphasized that mass action is not something that will happen later, not something that will happen later, but something that is happening now, today, and what we can see every day. These mass-action activities exist in organizational activities, and organizations exist in these mass-action activities. However, the important point of this mass-action activity is its essence which is oriented towards radical and revolutionary struggle.

Fourth, Machtsvorming. According to Zamawi (Zamawi, 2015) Machtsvorming itself means the formation of power by using political power. As stated by Sukarno that Machtsvorming is the formation of power that forces the opponent to obey the will of the power maker or winner. Bung Karno also believed that major changes could only be made by the victors. This belief comes from Marx's idea that there is no class/group that wants to give up its rights voluntarily. Based on this, Bung Karno wanted the Indonesian people to form their own Macht, their own strength and unite to fight the invaders. If the Indonesian people have not been able to form their Macht, are still scattered, there is no harmony, and do not encourage their own will, then imperialism will still exist on Indonesian soil.

Fifth, Self Help and Self Reliance. This concept is a reflection of independence and self-confidence. According to Mawarti and Sundawa (Mawarti and Sundawa, 2016) Self Help is how the Indonesian people and nation can be "Self-reliant" (Stand on one's own feet), while Self Reliance is the soul of believing in one's own strength. As mentioned by Bung Karno that as indigenous people, we must understand that non-cooperation is the principle of positive struggle to educate ourselves and build our own strength. Only with Machtsvorming's own strength, one's own strength that relies on externally and internally passionately, can it gather strength to destroy imperialism and colonialism.

2.2 Concepts of Community Welfare

The state according to Suseno (Ariani, 2014) basically has the task of establishing a legal order that can be used as the basis for implementing policies. There are 3 basic legal values proposed by Suseno, namely equality, freedom and solidarity. These three things are the basic moral obligations of the state which can be formulated as follows: The state must guarantee a social order in such a way that equality, freedom, and solidarity can be carried out optimally. However, these three principles will not have much effect if they are not heeded. So, there is a fourth principle, namely that the state exists to guarantee the interests of the people. Suseno called this principle the existence of the state as a whole which must be beneficial to society. The state is obliged to strive for the advancement of the interests of all citizens which are the basis of society (Raison d'etre), which is the only reason for the creation of the state for the public interest.

Ideally, the aim of the state is to see that the community is the first, while the state is the institution that serves them. So that the state can realize general welfare for its people both socially and economically. As the author explained at the beginning, general welfare is something that the state must strive for to support the achievement of the welfare of community members. However, the welfare pursued by the state has its limits. The state can only seek welfare by providing facilities and guaranteeing the constitutional rights of the people are properly fulfilled. However, the state cannot create absolute prosperity, because in the end the state will only become totalitarianism. As Suseno said, "The well-being of a person or group of people is manifested in their individual feelings." This is of course beyond

the state's capacity. The state only provides objective prerequisites so that public welfare can be realized.

There are three groups of tasks as stated by Ariani (Ariani, 2014) namely:

1. The state must provide protection to residents in certain areas; protection against threats from abroad and within the country; protection against the threat of disease or against traffic hazards.
2. The state supports, or directly provides, various services for people's lives in the social, economic and cultural fields. Including health services, education, road construction and procurement of traffic facilities, postal and telecommunication facilities, radio and television; various social services; creating or providing assistance to cultural institutions; and develop the nation's economic capacity with the aim that at least all members of society can live free from poverty and excessive economic dependence.
3. The state acts as an impartial arbiter between conflicting parties in society and provides a judicial system that guarantees basic justice in community social relations.

Regarding the general welfare of the community, it is also necessary to discuss specifically the implications of the state in the context of social responsibility, because this is correlated with the political system and ideology adopted by a country. For countries with pure liberalism, the concept of public welfare is seen as something that violates individual freedom. Welfare is not a matter of the state, but of society. The state only focuses on law enforcement, order and order. In contrast to communist and totalitarian countries that prioritize communal power to achieve state goals. However, individual rights are suppressed, welfare is meant only to satisfy the egoism of power so that the state is only a tool of coercion.

Lismanto and Utama (Lismanto and Utama, 2020), The welfare state is a relevant option to create a democratic and just social welfare system. defines the welfare state as a form of democratic government that positions the state as an institution that is responsible for the welfare of the people through the social policies taken. The welfare state system is oriented to:

1. Promote economical efficiency;
2. Strengthen social equity;
3. Develop social integrity and avoid social exclusivism;
4. Guarantee social stability; and
5. Promote individual independence.

Latif also added that the welfare state model has differences in each country that adheres to it (read: regime). This is due to the differences in the sociocultural realities of each country, therefore the manifestation is different. However, Ariani (Ariani, 2014) does not use the term welfare state to describe the role of the state in ensuring people's welfare, because it is considered too general and unclear. He prefers to use the term social state. The social state is a modern term for a state that seeks the general welfare of the whole society. The characteristics of this social state are to provide facilities that can be used by the community, which is accompanied by special actions to improve the welfare of underprivileged social groups. The social state not only organizes a system of schools, hospitals, builds infrastructure and traffic, but also provides special facilities for the underprivileged to be able to help themselves. In line with Ariani (Arrow, 1950) Arrow uses the term "social state" to refer to the welfare state. The main point of the concept of the social state proposed by Arrow through the analysis of the social welfare function of several experts, namely maximizing social utility by considering individual preferences which is then used as a measure of collective welfare.

Kholis (Kholis, 2015) identified social welfare into two categories, namely social welfare as a condition, and as a system, policy and program. Social welfare as a condition is how the community's ability to meet their needs. This condition is influenced by factors of education, skills, values, and norms adopted. Meanwhile, social welfare as a system, policy and program is about strength or power from outside the community in the form of laws, policies, and social services that guarantee the basic needs of the community.

3. METHODS

The research method that the authors use is descriptive analytical employing a qualitative approach. This approach was chosen because the data presented in this study is in the form of a narrative, in other words, the existing data is processed and then interpreted, analyzed and described for easy understanding (Musianto, 2002). The data collection technique in this study used a documentation/literature study. Fadli (Fadli, 2021) provides an explanation regarding this documentation study technique, namely collecting data related to research problems and then examining them in depth so that they can support the credibility of research data. Based on this, the authors grouped various sources related to the research problem, then divided them into themes, then analyzed. The sources of documents that the author chooses are articles, books, and newspapers (online).

Karena sifat penelitian ini yang berupa penggambaran secara mendalam menggunakan sumber literatur / dokumen, maka penelitian ini digolongkan kepada kajian literatur. Penulis tidak melakukan observasi, wawancara, maupun studi lapangan untuk mengumpulkan data.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Relevance of Marhaenism

Ideology is basically the result of thoughts about the meaning of social reality that occurs. Although conceptually, ideology has many different definitions, depending on the perception of each individual. However, in general, ideology is a theory, opinion, or attitude within a class (group) to advance the interests of the group. Then the question is, can marhaenism be regarded as an ideology? If you refer to this understanding, it can be said that marhaenism is included as an ideology. Its characteristics can be seen from how the ideology was born from the roots of Bung Karno's thoughts and reflections on injustice, oppression, and poverty. This thought represents the oppressed groups, the groups that are powerless by the power of imperialism. Seeing this condition, Bung Karno was moved to spread the principle of marhaenism to the Indonesian people through his provocative and agitative speeches that gave rise to the power of great mass action.

Bung Karno has also succeeded in developing the principle of marhaenism into a more concrete form. Even marhaenism has become the ideology of the struggle of the Indonesian people to free themselves from colonialism. Marhaenism is also a nationalism that fits the nature and character of Indonesian society. Bung Karno called it nationalism marhaenistic, the root of Indonesian socio- nationalism.

Bung Karno's thoughts later became the forerunner of the basis of the state which was manifested in Pancasila. Not focusing on the ideology that Sukarno developed, but the spirit of Marhaenism that grew and developed with the people. So when the BPUPKI session was held to seek Indonesian independence on April 29, 1945, many figures expressed their views on the basis of the state which would be the basis of the nation's ideal. Bung Karno was no exception, who at that time offered a basic principle consisting of 5 precepts.

In the process of formulating the state constitution, Sukarno played an important role. He succeeded in synthesizing various views that had emerged and at the same time being the first to conceptualize the basis of the country in terms of "fundamental philosophy" (*philosophische grondslag*) or "comprehensive world view" (*weltanschauung*) in a systematic and coherent manner. Then Bung Karno formulated the basis of the state in five precepts called Pancasila. The five precepts are: (1) Indonesian nationality, (2) Internationalism or humanity, (3) Consensus or democracy, (4) Social welfare, and (5) Cultural Godhead. The 5 precepts are based on a strong element in the soul of the Indonesian nation. Then Bung Karno then offered an alternative other than the 5 precepts, namely the trisila which contained: (1) Socio-nationalism, (2) Socio-democracy and (3) Divinity. Bung Karno offered again, if the 3 precepts were squeezed out, it would become ekasila, namely mutual cooperation.

In its journey, especially after independence, the ideology of marhaenism experienced dynamics, both politically and substantively. Especially after Sukarno stepped down from leadership. Marhaenism became an ideology affiliated with the teachings of Marxism, especially at the time of the transition of power from the old order to the new order, leftist ideology was very much hated. This was further exacerbated by the Gestapu tragedy in 1965 carried out by the PKI to carry out political propaganda by kidnapping influential generals of the Indonesian Army (PKI referred to it as the Council of Generals) who were accused of plotting a coup against Sukarno. After the incident, the political temperature in Indonesia became increasingly heated, the current of rejection of PKI sympathizers and militias in various regions intensified. Everyone who was accused of being a PKI at that time experienced acts of violence, even most of them were "cleaned up" as a result of the Gestapu incident. Until 1966, Sukarno stepped down and was replaced by Suharto, who at that time was considered to be partly responsible for the repressive-aggressive movements carried out by the TNI AD and his militia against the PKI. There was nothing Sukarno could do, precisely at the end of his leadership as the Great Leader of the Revolution, Sukarno had to experience dark and difficult times. The ideology of Marhaenism also declined in prestige and sank along with the fall of Sukarno. Marhaenism is considered a bankrupt and obsolete ideology. There is no more fighting spirit in it. So it is said that post-Bung Karno marhaenism is no longer pure marhaenism. Long before the 1965 tragedy, the concept of marhaenism received a lot of criticism. Especially in terms of the existence of Marxist thought in it.

The PNI camp in 1958 had rejected the conceptions of marhaenism and marxism, so that it was said that marhaenism was not the same as marxism. However, Bung Karno firmly assured that marhaenism is the Marxism of Indonesia, the application of the historical-materialism of Karl Marx. Marhaenism is not anti-God, nor does it focus on workers only, but every oppressed Indonesian society, small farmers, small traders, small fishermen, and all small people whose lives are difficult.

Bung Karno also once said that socio-democracy and socio-nationalism are not communist fantasies, because you don't have to be a communist to see in these democratic countries being oppressed by capitalism. One does not have to be a communist to see democracy in these countries as bourgeois democracy. To fight this, the marhaen must aspire and revive socio- democracy, namely political-democracy and economic-democracy.

Then, is marhaenism still relevant today? If implemented as an ideology broadly, it may no longer be relevant, because marhaenism was basically an ideology of radical and revolutionary struggle to arouse the fighting spirit of the marhaen against bourgeoisie and capitalist imperialism at that time. However, marhaenism principles such as economic independence, siding with the weak and oppressed, socio-democratic and religious socio-nationalism can be said to be still very relevant to the current situation.

Bung Karno, in his writings at *Pikiran Rakyat* newspaper in 1933, made a comparison between principles, principles of struggle and tactics. The true principle is the "handle" that "even though the end of the world is melting", continues to determine our "attitude", continues to determine the "sitting of our lives". This principle must not be forgotten even though Indonesia is already independent, because it will become the basis for structuring Indonesian society. These principles are nationalism and marhaen, socio- nationalism and democracy. The society that must be established is a society of socio-nationalism and democracy, the republic that must be established is a republic of socio-nationalism and democracy, namely a social political republic free from imperialism and capitalism.

While the principle of struggle, is the principle used to determine the character of the struggle. The principle of the marhaen struggle is in the form of non-cooperation, which means not cooperating with the colonial nation, *machtvorming* by forming political power, and mass-action to support *machtvorming*. The principle of this struggle is only necessary as long as the Indonesian nation struggles against colonialism. When Indonesia was independent, the principle of struggle was no longer useful. How do we maintain this struggle? Namely tactics. Tactics are not fixed laws as the principle of struggle, tactics can change at any time, are not bound and limited. In his writing, Bung Karno also quoted Liebknecht's analogy that tactics are like pawns in a chess game, changes and conditions that occur must be answered with adapted strategies. "The principle must continue to exist, the principle of struggle must remain until Indonesia's independence, and tactics change all the time."

If it is related to the current conditions, where social inequality is still high, the onslaught of new imperialism, new style capitalism, and modern liberalism which are covertly exerting their influence in Indonesia, marhaenism can actually be used as a "breaker" for these waves to be able to "kaffah" implements the true values of Pancasila. In the economic and political fields, for example, there are socio- democratic and nationalist principles that prioritize self-reliance on 'own strength'. Independent, people are free to determine their own destiny. The economy that is built must also be a people's economy, there should be no monopoly and capitalism that benefits some groups or groups. That way, marginalized groups of people who are marginalized as a result of poor governance can be minimized.

4.2 Reactualization of Marhaenism

Re-actualization means re- actualizing; maing something actual. In simple terms, reactualization can be interpreted as the renewal of a thing or values. Why is this actualization so important? Because today, marhaenism seems to be an outdated ideology that no longer has an influence on the lives of Indonesian people. Marhaenism is only discussed within the scope of organizational discussions, and even then organizations that do have a "mystical history" with Bung Karno, such as GMNI, PDI-P, PNI-Marhaenism, GPM (Marhaenis Youth Movement), and so on. Not a few people who are still unfamiliar with the term marhaenism. This, of course, could not be separated from the influence of the doctrine of the New Order regime which reduced the understanding of marhaenism completely, causing people to be reluctant to discuss Bung Karno's thoughts on marhaenism for fear of being considered leftist. The authoritarian period of 32 years has limited the freedom of opinion and thought of the Indonesian people. The choice given was between being labeled a communist, or following the government's will to be "safe".

Therefore, marhaenism certainly needs to be re-actualized to open a public discourse on the concept of social welfare for the community through the insertion of Bung Karno's ideas of marhaenism. We can start discussing current issues related to marhaenism. We can open

an academic discussion about marhaenism. We can also reopen the history of marhaenism and teach it to the current generation as a basis for knowledge that we have the original ideology of Bung Karno, one of the founding fathers who formulated Pancasila. Because the Pancasila formulation proposed by Sukarno in the BPUPKI session could not be separated from the influence of his thoughts on marhaenism.

In addition, we also need to reflect on the principle of merhaenism into the socio-political life of the community. This is very important so that the community can also control the direction of policies taken by the government. Then, the public can also confirm whether Pancasila is really implemented properly and correctly. If you look at the current conditions, Indonesia seems to be starting to lose its identity, Indonesia seems confused about its own ideology. Pancasila is just a symbolism without meaning. In practice, the economy tends to be capitalist, democracy tends to be liberal, and the oligarchy of power creates conflicts of interest. The unity of the nation also gradually began to be disturbed by the increasing spread of issues such as SARA, radicalism, separatism, and political sentiments between nationalist and religious groups, resulting in a dichotomy between groups that felt it was Pancasilaist and not Pancasilaist. This is further exacerbated by the number of politicians who practice political demagogy, inciting the wider community with the aim of arousing people's emotions in order to gain power. In the end, the victims are the little people, the people whose voices are only used, the people who are mostly still complaining about their economic conditions, the people who cannot get the proper education that is their right, the people who still live in slum houses, the people who do not can seek prosperity for himself. This is what is meant by Mutaqqin as a social process that creates two groups, namely the dominant-power group and the marginal-powerless group.

Therefore, everyone must be aware that Indonesia is built on the foundation of unity and struggle of the common people from Sabang to Merauke to overthrow imperialism. Without it, we may still be a colonized nation. The orientation of social domination as expressed by Pratto must really be considered. Do those who represent the people in both the executive and legislative branches really have a concern for reducing social inequality that are pro-small people, or just become a dominant power group that supports group hierarchies and is discriminatory. It is also necessary to consider a good political strategy, especially for political parties as a legitimate power or tool, Weber calls it a house of power in order to accommodate the aspirations of the people. Not only the upper middle class, but the marginalized. Thus, the cadres of political parties will be prepared, both in terms of competence, ideology, and the ability to lead that the people can rely on. Not just a party deposit, prioritizing group interests or just wanting power.

There are significantly important things to reactualize regarding the principles of marhaenism, namely:

1. Application of socio-democracy. That is the democracy of the people. Democracy which includes political and economic democracy. It is not a Western-style democracy that does not bring prosperity to its people. Although this ideology prioritizes the workers and peasants as the pillars of the movement, it does not deny the role of other progressive groups such as big businessmen, landlords and wholesalers, because they are also part of the nation's economic strength. Everyone has the right to the means of production guaranteed by the state. The key to socio- democracy is social justice, guaranteeing political and civil rights, but also the economic rights of the people.

2. The application of socio-nationalism. That is what Bung Karno said as the nationalism of the Indonesian people to seek the salvation of all Indonesian people. Latif explained that Bung Karno's socio-nationalism was a national spirit to uphold humanity. Our nationalism is not

arrogant jingo- nationalism or chauvinism by glorifying one's own nation and considering other nations as no better, but nationalism that accepts its own identity, as evidence of devotion in carrying out its life sincerely. Indonesian nationalism is also not selfish nationalism, not nationalism that pursues profit and loss, but eastern nationalism that solely wants to give love and peace to other nations.

3. Making marhaenism a public discourse. This means that marhaenism needs to be re-discussed to open a discussion related to the meaning and assessment that is adapted to current conditions, so that in urgency, marhaenism can be reintroduced in a relevant way. In addition, with public discourse, we provide an opportunity for marhaenism to be rejuvenated.

5. CONCLUSION

Marhaenism is not only seen as a principle of struggle, but also as a principle that continues to live in the soul of the Indonesian people forever. Marhaenism is deemed necessary to be re-actualized to answer the nation's problems, especially those related to social inequality, injustice, and marginalization. Socio-democracy and socio-nationalism are deemed necessary to be embodied in our current political process. Thus, public discourse is a good option so that marhaenism can be discussed and discussed so that marhaenism is no longer seen as an outdated ideology.

6. RECOMMENDATION

It is expected that the results of this scientific study can be followed up by other researchers who are interested in discussing the issue of marhaenism and marginalized communities, especially discussing more deeply about current policies and political dynamics on the concept of marhaenism and social welfare of the community.

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